

the affirmative by him. Dr. Hays expressed regret that any misunderstanding should have occurred as to what was said, but it was naturally accounted for by the fact that an old desk, which had been used by the late Mr. Phillips when Librarian, had been recently assigned to one of the members of the Society for the custody of his papers. Finding this *facsimile* of the copy of the Declaration of Independence in one of the drawers, he assumed that it should be handed to the Curators, to be deposited in the Cabinet, instead of to the Librarian. This difference of opinion as to the proper disposition of the paper had led to the original discussion of which a brief abstract was given in the minute referred to.

The rough minutes were then read, and the Society was adjourned by the presiding officer.

THE LINGUISTIC CARTOGRAPHY OF THE CHACO REGION.

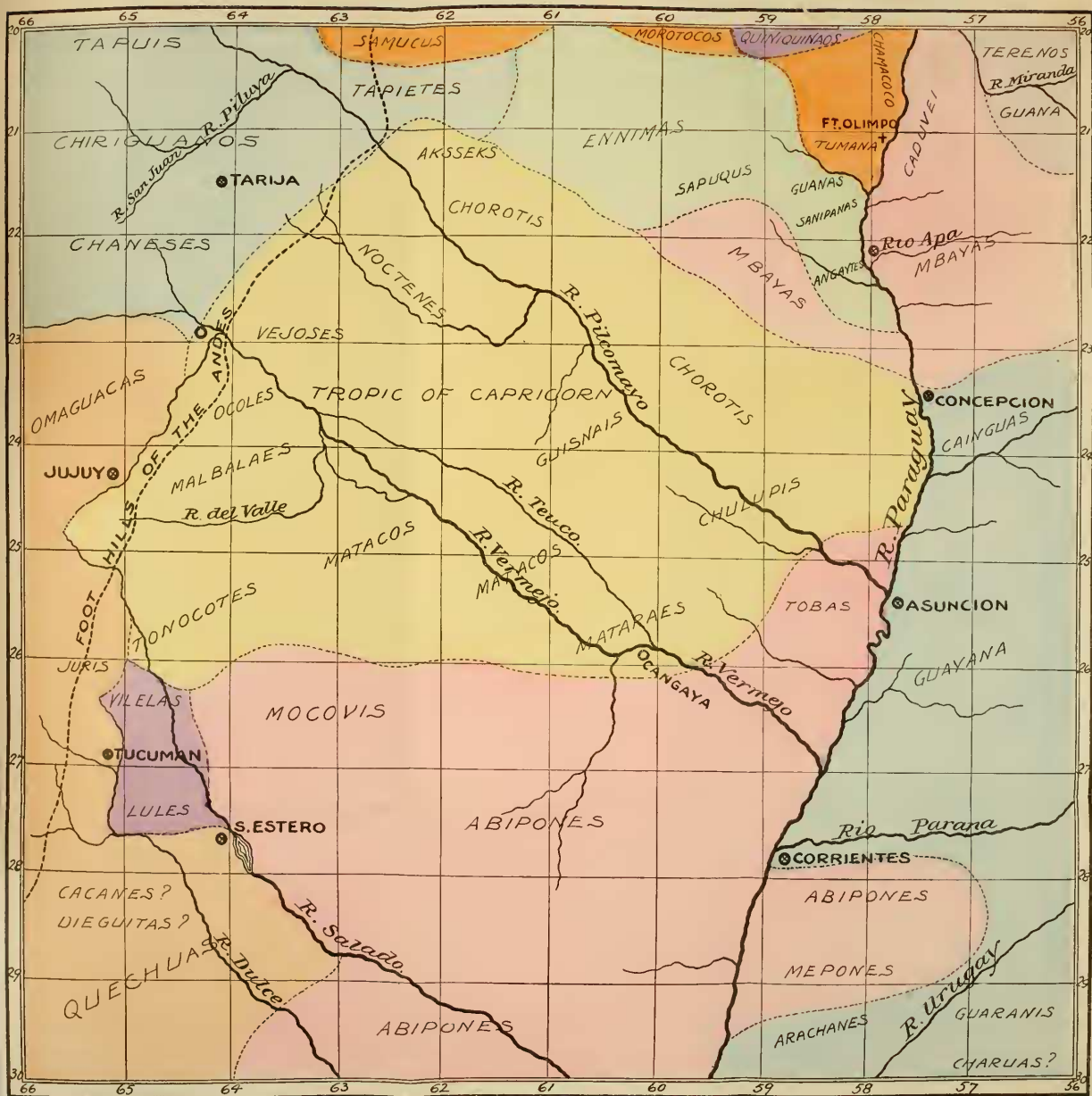
BY DANIEL G. BRINTON, M.D.

(*Read October 7, 1898.*)

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INTRODUCTORY.

In mapping the areas of American aboriginal languages there is a vast region in South America which has been peculiarly perplexing, and in several respects so remains.



This is that which is vaguely known as *El Gran Chaco*, or the Great Hunting Ground. It lies in northern Argentina and eastern Bolivia, between latitude 18° and 32° south, and longitude 58° and 66° west from Greenwich. It covers an area about as great in extent as from Pittsburg to the Mississippi and from Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico.¹

On the east, the valley of the Rio Parana and Rio Paraguay, which are the extensions of the Rio de la Plata, and on the west the lofty elevations of the Andes, are its well-marked boundaries. Between them the surface is usually level and intersected by numerous streams, the three most important of which, the Pilcomayo, the Vermejo and the Salado, flow from the Andes southeastward in almost parallel lines.

The climate is hot and the vegetation tropical. During the rainy season the flat, grassy lands are transformed into shallow lakes, while near the watercourses rise dense and lofty forests. In the north are arid and sterile highlands.

Except by the water-ways it is almost impossible to traverse the country, and for that reason extensive tracts of it are still unexplored.

The native tribes who inhabited this region have always been in the lowest stages of culture, depending on hunting and fishing for their subsistence, without settled abodes, migratory and in ceaseless warfare with each other. The self-sacrificing efforts of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries have at times succeeded in gathering a few hundred together about some mission, only to be dispersed again on some slight cause. Thus, some years ago, in the middle of the night, the whole of the tribe of *Penoquiquias*, which had been converted and induced to take up a fixed abode, suddenly disappeared, and were never seen again (Cardus, i, p. 272).

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LINGUISTICS OF THE CHACO.

In my volume on the linguistic classification of the American race, published in 1891, I divided the tribes of the Chaco into four principal linguistic stocks, the Guaycuru, the Mataco, the Vilela

¹ Boggiani (i, p. 10) puts the maximum length of the Chaco at 830 geographical miles, and its greatest width at 360 miles.

For this and other references in the text see the Bibliographic Note at the close of this article.

and the Payagua.¹ Since then a number of contributions to the subject and several ethnographic maps of parts of the region have been furnished by J. B. Ambrosetti, J. de Brettes, Guido Boggiani, Dr. G. A. Colini, Giovanni Pelleschi, Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo, and others, and some unpublished manuscripts of early date have seen the light in print, the titles of which are given in the bibliographic note at the close of this paper. My present intention is to offer a summary of their results in the linguistic ethnography of the Chaco region, as depicted in the revised chart which I have prepared, and to present some suggestions for the correct classification of tribes of still uncertain affinities.

The writer to whom we owe most is Mr. S. A. Lafone Quevedo. He has edited the manuscripts of Tavolini, Brigniel, Barcena and others, and contributed numerous articles of his own, and deserves the highest credit for his zeal and accuracy.

He entertains, however, certain linguistic theories which would with difficulty find general acceptance, and which expose some of his reasonings to serious question.

Thus, he maintains that there is a fundamental difference between what he calls the "Atlantic" type of languages and the "Pacific" or "Andean," based upon the trait that the latter suffix the pronominal particles while the former prefix them.

This, as a mere matter of placement, is of minor importance. For example, the Latin has the pronominal indications suffixed to the verbal root; but the neo-Latin tongues without exception prefix them. In America, the dialects of the Zoque-Mixe stock differ entirely among themselves in this respect, though closely allied in others.²

He himself acknowledges (x, p. 23) that the dialects of the Guaycuru stock are by no means a unit in this feature, some prefixing and others suffixing the pronominal particles.

His general classification is:

ANDEAN TYPE (SUFFIXES).

Araucanian,
Aymara,
Quechua,
Lule,
Vilela.

ATLANTIC TYPE (PREFIXES).

Tupi-Guarani,
Mataco,
Guaycuru.

¹*The American Race. A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America*, pp. 392 (New York, 1891).

²Raoul de la Grasserie, *Langue Zoque et Langue Mixte*, Introduction (Paris, 1898).

Yet in some passages (xi, p. xliii) he dismisses the criterion of the affixes, and in maintaining the affinity of Quechua and Guaycuru says their contrast in this respect is unimportant !

I do not question the general value of pronominal pre-position and post-position ; but it is not sufficiently fundamental to be adopted as a single criterion for classification.¹

Another feature to which Mr. Lafone Quevedo has given close study is the permutation of sounds in these tongues. Undoubtedly he has here shown regular and frequent changes between the dialects. But there will be few to follow him in such an equation as :

$$co = ho = hu = hy = y \text{ (Tavolini, i, App., p. 26).}$$

With such liberty, any two words could be brought into genetic relation.

This laxity of method naturally leads him to assert linguistic affinities between all stocks ; these he claims the Guaycuru has with the Guarani, the Mataco with the Carib, and all with the Arawack (L. Q., ii, pp. 56, 58).

Such conclusions are regrettable, and it were to be desired that students of American languages should be as cautious in asserting analogies as are the leading scholars in the Aryan and Semitic fields.

THE MATACO LINGUISTIC STOCK.

The linguistic study of the tribes of this vast area has had the usual effect of constantly reducing the number of its linguistic stocks by recognizing as dialects what earlier observers believed to be independent languages. To this result, I shall also contribute somewhat in the present article.

It has been long recognized that most of the Chaco region was occupied at the discovery by two great groups of related idioms.

One of these was central, extending in unbroken continuity from the river Paraguay to the foothills of the Andes, and from S. lat. 21° to 26°. This was the *Mataco* stock, so called from its central and principal tribe.² It is noticeable that all its members

¹ Prof. Friederich Müller observes that while there are a number of suffix-languages, there is, in fact, no example of a true prefix-language, "da neben ihr immer die Suffix-Bildung zur Anwendung kommt" (*Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. i, p. 129). This illustrates how uncertain such a criterion must be. Prof. Hovelacque remarks that linguistically the position of the pronominal affix "n'a aucune importance" (*La Linguistique*, p. 174.)

² The Matacos refer to themselves as *vicquii* = *viri*, men.

reside in contiguity, as if driven together by outer pressure on all sides. This would give probability to the opinion that they are the oldest surviving inhabitants of the Chaco.

The dialectic variations in the stock may be seen in the following comparisons :¹

Mataco Dialects.

	MAN.	WOMAN.	SUN.	MOON.
Mataco,	{ <i>icnú,</i>	<i>tiquiecua,</i>	<i>huala,</i>	<i>tsimini.</i>
	<i>inoon,</i>	<i>cisna,</i>	<i>juala,</i>	<i>huèla.</i>
Vejoz,	<i>noon,</i>		<i>ijuala,</i>	<i>guèla.</i>
Nocten,			<i>ijuela,</i>	<i>iguela.</i>
	FIRE.	WATER.	HEAD.	EYE.
Mataco,	<i>itaj,</i>	{ <i>inot,</i>	<i>etec,</i>	<i>notéi,</i>
		<i>huaj,</i>	<i>letec,</i>	<i>teijbèi.</i>
Vejoz,	<i>itag,</i>	<i>guag,</i>	<i>litec,</i>	<i>notelo.</i>
Nocten,	<i>ittaj,</i>	<i>innat,</i>	<i>etek,</i>	<i>teslò.</i>
	EAR.	MOUTH.	NOSE.	TONGUE.
Mataco,	<i>chotei,</i>	<i>kaj,</i>	{ <i>nocness,</i>	<i>nuea-jlo-jsié,</i>
			<i>nus,</i>	<i>hajlechà.</i>
Vejoz,	<i>noguiotoc,</i>	<i>nolagni,</i>	<i>nonus,</i>	<i>nocagliguiu.</i>
Nocten,	<i>quioté,</i>	<i>caj,</i>	<i>nus,</i>	<i>caj-liquio.</i>
	TOOTH.	HAND.	FOOT.	HOUSE.
Mataco,	{ <i>chotei,</i>	<i>cuèyi,</i>	<i>pacui,</i>	<i>huette,</i>
	<i>tzotei,</i>	<i>noguez,</i>	<i>kolo,</i>	
Vejoz,	<i>nochete,</i>	<i>noguei,</i>	<i>nopachio</i>	<i>hoet, lobuque.</i>
Nocten,	<i>zottè.</i>	<i>cueiquiò.</i>	<i>piquiò</i>	<i>gugue.</i>

The tribe called by de Brettes the *Aksseks* must be members of the Mataco stock. They dwelt on the Bolivian frontier, extending in a northwesterly direction from the Rio Pilcomayo to the confines of the Samucus.²

Lafone Quevedo is of the opinion that the Mataco is a jargon, owing its lexicon to one stock and its grammar to another (Pelleschi, ii, p. 14). This is not the impression that it makes upon me. I rather agree with Father Remedi (in Lafone Quevedo, v, p. 25)

¹ I have selected the same words which form the brief comparative vocabularies in my *American Race*.

² Mallat de Bassilan, *L'Amérique Inconnue*, pp. 11, 37. They spoke neither Guana (Ennima), Guarani or Chamacoco.

that it is of a very ancient type, and, apart from a certain number of borrowed words, is a wholly independent stock.

THE GUAYCURU STOCK.

The second stock has received the name *Guaycuru*, a Tupi word meaning "fast runners."¹ Mr. Lafone Quevedo does not acknowledge a fundamental distinction between this and the preceding group of tongues,² but the evidence seems to me insufficient to blend them in one.

They almost surrounded the Matacos on three sides, the south, east and north, and extended on the eastern bank of the river Paraguay as far as S. lat. 19° 30' into the Brazilian province of Mato Grosso. In the south they roved as far as to 33° lat. south, where they were in contact with the Pampean tribes.

One of their most redoubtable members were the Tobas, called by the Spanish Frentones or Frontones, from their habit of shaving the forehead. In modern times they have occupied the shores of the lower Pilcomayo, and have been reported at various localities along its banks quite up to its rapids (Cardus, i; Thouar, i).³ The Pilagas are a closely related horde.

The large majority of this stock lived west of the great river; but in the south the Abipones and Mepones were found in the last century east of the river about lat. 28°; and in the north all the left bank, from Fort Coimbra to Puerto Casado, was peopled by tribes of the Guaycuru stock, locally known as *Quetiadegodis* or *Uettiadiu*, and *Eyiguayegis* or *Egginágeg*, the modern Mbayas and Caduveos (Boggiani, iv, p. 171).

The dialectic variations in this stock may be seen in the subjoined table.

¹ Lafone Quevedo considers this word a diminutive from the root *ai*, rogue; but I think that von Martius is right in considering it composed of *atá* or *guatá*, to go; *curitei*, quickly; *uara*, men. Some writers have objected to the use of this collective name for the stock on the ground that it is a common noun, and does not apply to a single nation. The same objection would be applicable to many *nomina gentilia* in common use (*e. g.* Aryans, Semites) and is therefore a needless criticism. There are reasons why it is not desirable to choose the name of a single tribe for the whole stock.

² "El grupo Mataco es una subclase mas del gran grupo Guaycuru." (*Bol. Inst. Geog. Argentin*, 1894, p. 518.)

³ M. Thouar (i, pp. 419-421) gives vocabularies of the Toba on the lower and on the upper Pilcomayo.

Guaycuru Dialects.

	MAN.	WOMAN.	SUN.	MOON.
Mocovi,	<i>iale,</i>	<i>ahlo,</i>	<i>daassoa,</i>	<i>ciraigu.</i>
Toba,	<i>yahale,</i>	<i>aló,</i>	<i>nala,</i>	<i>cagoic.</i>
Mbaya,	<i>conelego,</i>	<i>igualo,</i>	<i>aligeg,</i>	<i>epenahi.</i>
Abipon,	<i>yoale,</i>	<i>oanerma,</i>	<i>empaiga,</i>	<i>graoec.</i>
Caduveo,	<i>houlegre,</i>	{ <i>agouina,</i> <i>igualo,</i> }	<i>aligega,</i>	<i>epenai.</i>
Quiniquinas,	<i>heleóde,</i>	<i>helóde,</i>	<i>allighera,</i>	<i>hepenai.</i>
Upper Tobas,	<i>kome,</i>	{ <i>noodik,</i> <i>yayuoó,</i> }	<i>nala,</i>	<i>auguei.</i>
	FIRE.	WATER.	HEAD.	EYE.
Mocovi,	<i>annoreh, olé,</i>	<i>evagayaca,</i>	<i>y-caigo,</i>	<i>cocté, cijatè.</i>
Toba,	<i>nodek,</i>	{ <i>nogop,</i> <i>netagrgat,</i> }	<i>calcoic,</i>	<i>cahaytè,</i>
Mbaya,	<i>nuledi,</i>	<i>niogo,</i>	<i>nakilo,</i>	<i>cogecogo.</i>
Abipon,	<i>ncaa-tec,</i>	<i>enarp, enope,</i>	<i>nemag,</i>	<i>natoète.</i>
Caduveo,	<i>nuledi,</i>	<i>niogo,</i>	<i>naguilo,</i>	<i>nigecoge.</i>
Quiniquinas,	<i>noledi,</i>	<i>niogo,</i>	<i>hiaquilo,</i>	<i>kekerehe.</i>
Upper Tobas,	<i>lolle,</i>	<i>nogapp.</i>		
	EAR.	MOUTH.	NOSE.	TONGUE.
Mocovi,	<i>licquela,</i>	<i>ayap, lape,</i>	<i>immik,</i>	<i>ulleganaste.</i>
Toba,	<i>quetela,</i>	<i>ayap,</i>	<i>cadimic,</i>	<i>lateagat.</i>
Mbaya,	<i>conapagoti,</i>	<i>iola,</i>	<i>nimigo,</i>	<i>cadoketi.</i>
Abipon,	<i>quetal,</i>	<i>aagat,</i>	<i>catanat,</i>	<i>lachigat,</i>
Caduveo,	<i>napagate,</i>	<i>joladi,</i>	{ <i>nimigo,</i> <i>codeimic,</i> }	<i>nogueligi,</i> <i>codocaiti.</i>
Quiniquinas,	<i>parähte,</i>	<i>hin-ioläque,</i>	<i>himigo,</i>	<i>hiokelëgui.</i>
	TOOTH.	HAND.	FOOT.	HOUSE.
Mocovi,	<i>hve, be,</i>	<i>népu-qjuinet,</i>	<i>leti,</i>	<i>labu, vo.</i>
Toba,	<i>jové,</i>	<i>yubat,</i>	<i>apiate, íppia,</i>	<i>nohic.</i>
Mbaya,	<i>codoe, nogue,</i>	<i>cobahaga,</i>	<i>codohua,</i>	<i>dimi.</i>
Abipon,	<i>yavé,</i>	<i>apaquena,</i>	<i>nachayu,</i>	<i>nüc.</i>
Caduveo,	<i>nogue,</i>	<i>nilagadi,</i>	<i>codohona,</i>	<i>dimigi.</i>
Quiniquinas,	<i>codohê,</i>	<i>hiedede,</i>	<i>hibyhade,</i>	<i>cudeine.</i>

THE TUPI STOCK.

The northern portion of my map, from longitude $58^{\circ} 30'$ to 66° is occupied by the Chiriguano. They are a well-defined substock of the great Tupi-Guarani family. In the Sierra they extend south to the head waters of the Rio Vermejo (Cardus, i, p. 242). About

8000 of them have been converted to Christianity by the missionaries, one of whom, Father A. M. Corrado, published some years since a book of devotion in the tongue.¹

The difference of its vocables from the foregoing is seen in the following examples:

Man, <i>aba</i> .	Eye, <i>exa</i> .
Woman, <i>cuña</i> .	Ear, <i>inanvi</i> .
Sun, <i>cuarasi</i> .	Nose, <i>iñapongua</i> .
Moon, <i>yasi, yuai</i> .	Hand, <i>ypó</i> .
Fire, <i>tata</i> .	Foot, <i>ypul</i> .
Water, <i>i</i> .	House, <i>oga</i> .
Head, <i>ñaca</i> .	

The name Chiriguanos is supposed to be a term of contempt applied to them by the Quechuas (= *estiércol frío*). They call themselves *Aba*, "men."

One of their branches, the Tapiis or Tapietes, extend as far south as the Pilcomayo, and in scattered bands nearly to the R. Paraguay (Cardus, i, p. 269). Their name is given them as a term of contempt by the Chiriguanos, because they go quite naked. It signifies the male or female genitalia (Tupi, *tapi*).² For the same reason they are called *Tirumbae*, "naked men." M. Thouar found their westernmost village at Yagaigua, longitude 65° (Thouar, i, p. 305). They wear the *tembeta*, and are friendly (*id.*, p. 333).

The Guarañocas, one of their branches, inhabit the "Chaco de Antonio," within the territory of Bolivia.³ The Yanaiguas, the Palmares and the Sirionas (on the Rio Peray) are other branches (Cardus, i, p. 272).

At the time of the discovery this stock occupied much of the east of the map, extending along the left bank of the Rio Paraguay from about latitude 23° to 30° and below.⁴ Here they bore the names Cainguas and Guayanas, up the river, and Caracaraes and

¹ *Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua Chiriguana* (Sucre, 1871). A short grammatical outline of the dialect is given in the work *El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus Misiones*, pp. 523-526.

² It is also applied to the Chanesees of the foothills (Cardus, i, p. 250). Another derivation of it is from *tapiii*, something bought, = a slave. *Tarija y sus Misiones*, p. 54.

³ F. de Oliveira Cesar, *Viaje al Oriente de Bolivia*, p. 77 (Buenos Aires, 1891).

⁴ Dr. Paul Ehrenreich, "Ethnographische Karte von Brasilien," in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1891.

Ubeguas, near its mouth.¹ Whether the *Caaiguas* of Charlevoix are the same as the Cainguas is uncertain. Dr. Ehrenreich supposes them the older representatives of the modern *Guayakis*, a tribe near the middle Parana, who are extremely wild and timid. We have no sufficient knowledge of their tongue to identify the stock to which they belong.²

The modern Cainguas live on the upper Parana. Their customs and dialects have been thoroughly studied by Ambrosetti, who gives an ample and accurate vocabulary (Ambrosetti, ii and iii). The assertion of some writers that they have a tongue peculiar to themselves has not proved correct. They are divided into three subtribes.

Apuiteré.

Baaberá, or *Baticolas.*

Chiripa.

There are, however, but unimportant differences in the dialects.

THE SAMUCU STOCK.

In the northeast corner of the map, longitude 58°, latitude 20°, on the right bank of the river Paraguay, dwell the Chamocos or Chiamococos. They have been especially studied by Boggiani, whose monograph upon them presents excellent ethnographic and linguistic material.

He claimed them (i, p. 23) to be an independent stock, and denied (*id.*, p. 19) that they are linguistically related to the Samucus or Zamucos described by Father Azara and the traveler D'Orbigny.

Dr. Karl von den Steinen, in whose hands is a MS. grammar of the Samucu, has shown, however, by a comparison of twenty words that there is a decided lexical similarity between the two, and that this also extends to grammatic forms.³

¹ See D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, Tom. ii, p. 270, whose statement has not been impugned by subsequent writers.

² Dr. Ehrenreich, on the strength of one or two words, inclines to the opinion that they are Ges (my Tapuyas). See his article in *Globus*, January, 1898, p. 73.

³ His article is published in *Globus*, for May, 1895 (Bd. lxxvii, No. 21). In the *American Race*, p. 301, I have given twelve subtribes of the Samucu stock and a short vocabulary. Cardus (i, p. 327) calls it "Zamuca," and prints a vocabulary of twenty-three words.

Comparison of Chamococo and Samucu.

	CHAMOCOCO.	SAMUCU.
I,	<i>eióc,</i>	<i>yoc</i> (we).
Thou,	<i>óua,</i>	<i>ugua.</i>
Good,	<i>ompa,</i>	<i>nom.</i>
White,	<i>porlo,</i>	<i>pororo.</i>
Sweet,	<i>diri,</i>	<i>dirip.</i>
Dead,	<i>toi,</i>	<i>toi.</i>
Wood,	<i>pid,</i>	<i>pit.</i>
Tree,	<i>pori,</i>	<i>pore.</i>
Road,	<i>dêc,</i>	<i>daec.</i>
Water,	<i>nió,</i>	<i>yot.</i>
Sun,	<i>dêi,</i>	<i>dirie</i> (day).
Mother,	<i>ota,</i>	<i>ote.</i>
Man,	<i>nêit,</i>	<i>naitie.</i>
Tongue,	<i>os-aruc,</i>	<i>archo</i> (pl.).
Hand,	<i>os-umme,</i>	<i>yumanai.</i>
Eye,	<i>os-iddi,</i>	<i>yede.</i>
Foot,	<i>os-iddili,</i>	<i>irie.</i>
No, not,	<i>îê,</i>	<i>ca-</i>
Our,	<i>os-</i>	<i>az-</i>
One,	<i>sommala,</i>	<i>tschomara.</i>

This comparison can leave no doubt that the verbal correspondences of the two tongues are due to a close affinity of some kind. It has been accepted by Sr. Boggiani himself (iv, p. 169). Whether this is genetic must be left for decision until Dr. Von den Steinen publishes the grammar in his possession.

Another lexical similarity which neither he nor Boggiani has noted is that to the Arawack. To illustrate this I have drawn up the following comparisons, in which the words following the numeral 1 are from the Chiamoco-Sumucu, and those following the 2 are from the Arawack dialects named. The resemblances speak for themselves.

Comparison of Samucu and Arawack.

MAN.

1. Cham., *neit*; Sam., *naitie*, *nani*, *vairigue*.
2. Ar., *iti* (father), *ira-it* (husband); Guana, *hapo-itai* (man).

SUN.

1. Cham., *dei*; Sam., *dirie*, *yede*.
2. Ar., *hâddali*, *hadali*.

MOON.

1. Cham., *sciagurugu*.
2. Ande., *cashiri*; Goajiro, *kashi*; Manao; *ghairy*.

FIRE.

1. Cham., *örugu*; Sam., *pioc*.
2. Moxos., *yucu*; Baure, *hioke*.

WATER.

1. Cham., *nio*; Sam., *yot*.
2. Antis., *nia*; Baure., *hina*.

HEAD.

1. Cham., *achu*; Sam., *yatodo*.
2. Ande., *ito*, *buto*; Uainuma, *ba-ita*; Layana, *tode*.

EAR.

1. Cham., *a-inri*, *a-anu*; Sam., *yagorone*.
2. Guana, *guai-haino*.

EYE.

1. Cham., *iddi*, *illi*; Sam., *yede*, *yedoi*.
2. Baniva, *iti*; Barre, *iti*; Mariate, *nu-doi*; Parisi, *nu-duro*.

MOUTH.

1. Cham., *aáho*; Sam., *yago-rone*.
2. Guana, *baho*; Moxo., *nu-jaca*; Atorai, *otaghu*.

TONGUE.

1. Cham., *arue*; Sam., *archo* (pl.).
2. Maipure, *äre*.

TOOTH.

1. Cham., *a-potachaè*.
2. Uainuma, *áhăi*, *aei*; Ande., *ai*; Passe, *ée*; Guana, *onhai*.

HAND.

1. Cham., *ummê*; Sam., *imanaetio*.
2. Chontaquero, *huamianuta*; Guana, *uon-hum*; Layana, *vremen*; Peris., *nemeyonota*.

FOOT.

1. Cham., *idili*; Sam., *irie*.
2. Ande., *guito*; Arawak, *ukútti*; Jabaana, *iti*.

HAIR.

1. Cham., *cachieha*.
2. Ande., *itshi*, *eshi*; Araicu, Manao, *itschy*; Baure, *ichi*.

TO SLEEP.

1. Cham., *tūghemo*.
2. Moxo., Baure, *nî-moco*; Ande., *maye*.

The personal and possessive pronouns in the Chiamococo are as follows :

I,	<i>ei'o'c.</i>	Mine,	<i>a</i>	(inseparable prefix).
Thou,	<i>o'ua.</i>	Thine,	<i>e</i>	"
He,	<i>os (?)</i> .	His,	<i>o</i>	"

The syllable *os* is prefixed to parts of the human body, articles of use and to verbs which are reflexive or intransitive. Boggiani considers it a generic pronoun referring to human beings. It seems akin to the numeral for "two," *ossia*, and therefore I should think it signifies "the other's," or "another's," which is the primary sense of the binary numeral.

The above pronouns are not those of the Arawack stock, except that the Ande uses the pronominal prefix *a* in the first person plural, which Adam thinks is an abbreviation of *aba*.¹

The signs of negation in Chiamococo *giu'a*, *gi'o'* ; or the prefix *iê*, *iêt*. This differs entirely from the Arawack stock, where the negative is conveyed by the prefix *ma-*, *mo-*, with great uniformity.

These and other grammatical differences are too formidable to admit the opinion that the Samucu is a substock of the Arawack ; while the lexical similarities are too numerous and striking to be overlooked. Very many words from Arawack dialects have been incorporated into the tongue spoken by the Chiamococos and their affined hordes.

The *Chamococos bravos*, who occasionally appear on the shores of the Rio Paraguay a few leagues south of Fort Olimpo, speak the same tongue, and their separation from the main stock is still remembered in tradition (Boggiani, iv, p. 170).

The proper name of the united tribe appears to be *Tumanahá* or *Timinaha*, which recurs in documents of the eighteenth century (Boggiani, *id.*) ; although this may be a modification of the not uncommon Tupi tribal term, *temymynó*, grandson or descendant, often used in a conventional, metaphorical sense.²

Father Fernandez, whose observations were made at the commencement of the last century, says that the Samucu tongue was spoken by the Morotocos, the Careras of the Reduccion de San Juan Bautista, the Ugoroños to the south and the Coroinos, a branch of

¹ Lucien Adam, *Arte de la Lengua de los Indios Antis ó Campas*, p. 8 (Paris, 1890).

² Cf. Martius, *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde*, Bd. ii, p. 172.

the Morotocos.¹ Muratori adds that it was one of the three native languages officially taught in the Paraguay missions.²

THE ENNIMA STOCK.

Since the publication of my *American Race*, a new linguistic stock has been discovered in the Chaco region. The first vocabulary of it was published by M. de Brettes, in 1892, containing about 130 words collected in 1887.³ In the same year a posthumous work by Señor Juan de Cominges was printed in Buenos Aires, containing a list collected in 1879; and in 1895, Señor Guido Boggiani published in Rome a careful collection of terms he had formed in 1889, republishing the vocabulary of Cominges, but apparently not being aware of that of de Brettes.⁴ This last differs notably from the others, introducing various Samucu and Guaycuru terms, but well representing the groundwork of the tongue.

The name first given to this stock was Guaná. This is a common noun in the Tupi-Guarani language, a term of respect, something equivalent to "fine" or "learned people,"⁵ and was applied by them to various nations whose cultural condition impressed them favorably. Later Sr. Boggiani has proposed the more acceptable term Ennimá, a designation applied to them by their neighbors to the north and which may as well be adopted.⁶

The location of the stock is on the right bank of the Paraguay, 21° 30' to 23° and westward nearly to the Bolivian line. Boggiani includes in it the tribes known as Guanás, Sanapanas, Sapuquis, Angaites and "Lenguas." To these must be added the Machicuys and the Chaco tribes mentioned by de Brettes as speaking "Guaná," the Néenssemakas, the Kamananghas and the Banghis.

Hervas located the Machicuys on a branch of the Rio Pilcomayo in the centre of the Chaco. They numbered about 1200 warriors

¹ *Relacion historial de los Indios Chiquitos*, pp. 316, 371, 394.

² *Il Cristianesimo felice nel Paraguay*, p. 132. The others were that of the "Guananis" (Guarani) and of the Chiquitos.

³ Mallat de Bassilañ, *L'Amérique Inconnue*, Appendix.

⁴ *Reale Academia dei Lincei*, Roma, 1895.

⁵ "Edles Volk," "die Gelehrten," Martius, *Ethnog. und Sprachenkunde*, Bd. ii, pp. 172, 788. An abbreviation of *Guayána*.

⁶ See Boggiani, "Etnografía del alto Paraguay," in *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, 1898, p. 11.

and were divided into nineteen subtribes. Their language was consonantal, nasal and guttural. The names of the subtribes were of formidable length, as :

Guiabamaelmayesma.

Guiguailyeguaypon.

Ycteaguayenene.

Sanguotaiyamoctoc.

They were characterized by wearing the *barbote* or labret, and were tall and warlike.

About 1862, Demersay found them few in number, located at the Quartel del Cerrito, five leagues from Asuncion, and obtained from them the vocabulary mentioned below.¹

Father Azara asserted that the Machicuys spoke a tongue of their own; but D'Orbigny insisted that they were closely related to the Tobas, and hence belonged in the Guaycuru stock. He observes: "The termination in their tongue of *ith*, *ac* and *op* prove this beyond contradiction."²

M. Demersay, in his *Histoire du Paraguay* (1860), gives a short vocabulary of the "Machicuy" as follows :

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Eyes, <i>hartec.</i> | 4. Thigh, <i>hehiohoc.</i> |
| 2. Feet, <i>hemmenec.</i> | 5. Tobacco, <i>hequena.</i> |
| 3. Fingers, <i>heptehec.</i> | 6. Fire, <i>tahasla.</i> |
| 7. Yes, <i>tahase.</i> | |

Lafone Quevedo remarks of this (Tavolini, i, App., p. 19) that he has found no affinities in these words to the Abipon except in one (No. 3).

A comparison even of these few terms indicates, however, that they are not from the Guaycuru stock, but belong with the Ennima, as :

	MACHICUY.	GUANA.
Eyes,	<i>h-artec,</i>	<i>gni-actec.</i>
Feet,	<i>hemmenec,</i>	<i>hemmenec.</i>
Fingers,	<i>he-ptehec,</i>	<i>pehec.</i>
Tobacco,	<i>he-quena,</i>	<i>henna, tenna.</i>
Fire,	<i>tahasla,</i>	<i>tata.</i>

Another proof is the terminal *c* (*ec*, *oc*), which is doubtless a pro-

¹ *Le Tour du Monde*, Vol. iv, pp. 108, 111.

² *L'Homme Américain*, Tome ii, p. 94.

nominal suffix, and which appears also in one of the tribal names of the Machicuy given by Hervas. This relationship has been accepted by Boggiani (v).

No connection of this with any other tongue has yet been shown. There are a few similarities to the Tsoneca of Patagonia, but not sufficient to establish a relationship.¹

	ENNIMA.	TSONECA.
Eye,	<i>gn-ia-te'ic,</i>	<i>ia-telk, iateteke.</i>
Beard,	<i>lekpaē,</i>	<i>ia-pelek.</i>
Mouth,	<i>m-booc,</i>	<i>ia-pōlk.</i>
Great, large,	<i>sossepek,</i>	<i>sātsa.</i>
House,	<i>pahat,</i>	<i>ahoike.</i>
Bird,	<i>tōu,</i>	<i>tsōge.</i>
Extremity, member,	<i>pehec,</i>	<i>pgit.</i>
Man,	<i>kihvaouo,</i>	<i>kina.</i>

The word *pehec* or *pe'ec* seems a general term in both tongues for the leg and foot.

THE ARAWACK STOCK.

One of the various hordes called *Guanás* dwells north of Corumba, in the province of Mato Grasso. They are also spoken of as *Chualas*, which is merely a variant, and *Layanas*, another variant. The Terenos on the river Miranda are their neighbors and relatives. These belong to the Arawack stock, which extended its various branches in an unbroken line from the Bahama Islands, off the coast of Florida, nearly to the river Pilcomayo of the Chaco.

The relationship of this remote southern branch to the main stem is illustrated in the following comparisons :

Arawack Stock.

	MAN.	WOMAN.	SUN.	MOON.
Guana,	{ <i>hapohitai,</i> <i>ta hanan,</i> }	<i>zeeno,</i>	<i>kat-hai,</i>	<i>kohaiwai.</i>
Layana,	<i>hapohite,</i>	<i>zehena,</i>	<i>kai-xe,</i>	<i>cohehe.</i>
Arawack dialects,	<i>ati, atchi,</i>	<i>eno, ina,</i>	<i>cachi, katchi,</i>	<i>cohé.</i>
	FIRE.	WATER.	HEAD.	EYE.
Guana,	<i>incu,</i>	<i>huna,</i>	<i>kombai poi,</i>	<i>onguei.</i>
Layana,		<i>tohna,</i>	<i>tode,</i>	<i>ongheh.</i>
Arawack dialects,	<i>yucú.</i>	<i>une, tuna,</i>	<i>hida, ito.</i>	<i>nu-uqui.</i>

¹ The Tsoneca words are from H. Hale, *Ethnography and Philology of the U. S. Exploring Expedition.*

	EAR.	MOUTH.	NOSE.	TONGUE.
Guana,	<i>guaihaino</i> ,	<i>baho</i> ,	<i>agueiri</i> ,	<i>mahainai</i> .
Layana,	<i>ghehena</i> ,	<i>báhălo</i> ,	<i>ghire</i> ,	<i>nehne</i> .
Arawack dialects,	<i>guawui</i> ,	<i>panoma</i> ,	<i>nu-chiri</i> ,	<i>nene, nino</i> .
	TOOTH.	HAND.	FOOT.	HOUSE.
Guana,	<i>onhai</i> ,	<i>uonhum</i> ,	<i>djahavai</i> ,	<i>maihaino</i> .
Layana,	<i>onhê</i> ,	<i>memen</i> ,	<i>djehêne</i> ,	<i>nichena</i> .
Arawack dialects,	<i>nu-oe, n-ai</i> ,	<i>no-noma</i> ,	<i>un-geopa</i> ,	<i>nupeno</i> .

THE QUECHUA STOCK.

In the southwestern portion of the map is marked the area at one time included under the government of the Incas. Their authority extended eastward to the Rio Salado, including the valley of Catamarca, and as far north as the upper tributaries of the Rio Vermejo, where they were in contact with the Chiriguanos.

This is a greater area for the Incasic power in this region than has generally been assigned it; but I am convinced that the evidence is sufficient to justify it.

I include among the Quechuas the tribe of Omaguas or Omaguacas who occupied an extended territory about Jujuy. Dr. Waitz, for various reasons, not linguistic, believed that they were a branch of the Tupi-Guarani stock, and related to the Chiriguanos.¹

My grounds for dissenting from this and placing them with the Quechuas are the following:

1. The name *Omagua* is undoubtedly the Quechua, *umayaccha*, from *uma*, head, and *yachay*, to know, understand, and means, "intelligent, superior people."² It was applied by the Quechuas to various tribes whose culture or ability they respected.

2. Acarete du Biscay, who was among them in 1658, records that they called their chiefs *curaca*, which is the Quechua term for the head of a clan or village.³

3. Nicholas del Techo gives the personal name of one of their principal chiefs as "Piltipico." This is certainly the Quechua

¹ *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Bd. iii, pp. 432, 433.

² See von Tschudi, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Alten Peru*, p. 139. Martius thought it a hybrid of Quechua and Tupi. *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas*, Bd. i, S. 436.

³ *Voyage to Buenos Aires*, p. 58 (London, 1716). At that time their principal town had 200 houses. Their immediate neighbors to the west were the Chichas, who were Quechuas.

ppillccopichiu, which signifies a certain mountain bird highly esteemed for its beautiful plumage.¹

These facts leave no reasonable doubt that this tribe was of the Quechuan stock.

The Juris (Quechua, *suri*, ostrich²) had their habitations in the foothills about S. latitude 27° ("near the sierra of Anconquija," Lafone Quevedo). They are classed by D'Orbigny and Waitz among the Guaranis, but Lafone Quevedo believes they spoke a dialect of the Chaco. I included them (*American Race*, p. 316) among the Lule-Vilelas, from their location, but believe that it is somewhat probable that they belonged to the Quechua stock.

THE LULE STOCK.

In my former classification of the Chaco tongues I placed the Lule (of Machoni) and the Vilela under one group.³ This has in a measure been substantiated by Lafone Quevedo, though he believes the latter to be more of a jargon (*mezcla*) of a number of tongues.⁴

This is, indeed, probable, as from their wandering habits Pelleschi calls them "the Jews of the Chaco." For this reason some have included them with the Matacos. There are lexical analogies, but the pronouns and the method of affixing them differ, the Vilela suffixing the possessive.

For the present, it seems necessary to leave them together and separate from others. But the *Tonocotes* whom I grouped with them are no doubt Matacos, the term being a corruption of *Noctenes* or *Octeneei*, modifications of their own name *Huenneyei*, "Men" (Thouar, i, p. 56).

GROUPS OF UNCERTAIN AFFINITIES.

The above-mentioned eight stocks are clearly recognized, there being sufficient linguistic material to distinguish and classify them.

¹ *Historia Provinciæ Paraquariæ*, Lib. ii, cap. 7.

² *Suri* was also the general name given by the Quechuas to the Province of Tucuman; so it would have no ethnic significance applied to a tribe.

³ *The American Race*, p. 316.

⁴ "Se ha podido establecer el hecho que (la Vilela) tiene bastante afinidad con el Lule de Machoni" (ii, p. 40). On the Lules of Barcena see under *Cacanas*. Elsewhere Lafone Quevedo says, "*Vilela*, ó *Chulupi* ó *Chunupi* es un co-dialecto del Lule de Machoni" (*Boletín del Inst. Geog. Argent.*, 1894, p. 520).

But there remain a number of tribes about whom there are much confusion and uncertainty. In some instances the same name has been applied to groups speaking radically distinct languages, and the identity of the name has led authors to suppose them of one origin. I shall mention some of the more prominent examples and attempt to diminish the difficulties which they present.

THE LENGUAS (TIMBUES).

Few tribes have contributed more to the confusion of the ethnography of the Chaco region than those known as the *Lenguas*. Dr. Colini (i, pp. 291, 292) inserts a long note upon them, but it fails to clear up the obscurity about them, or to reconcile the contradictory statements of authors.

These contradictions are materially lessened when we learn that the Spanish term *lengua*, tongue, was applied indiscriminately by the early colonists to any tribe who had the custom of inserting a labret, *barbote*, in the lower lip, causing it to project and resemble an outstretched tongue.¹ It has, therefore, no signification as a proper name.

In the Tupi-Guarani tongue this ornament is called *tembeta*, from *tembe*, the lower lip.² This explains the name applied to various tribes, Timbues, or Timbois. It is in signification the same as *Lengua*, and refers to the same use of the labret ornament.³

Neither *Lengua* nor *Timbue*, therefore, is a *nomen gentile*. This is evident from the discrepancies of authors about their locations and amply explains those discrepancies.

Father Azara describes them as a subtribe of the Abipons, and in entire conformity with this D'Orbigny⁴ found them in 1828 living about latitude 27°, longitude 62°, in the midst of the territory of

¹ A good illustration of its use is shown in the portrait of a *Suya* in Von den Steinen's *Durch Central Brasilien*, p. 204. Another form is where a labret several inches in length was thrust outward and downward through the lower lip.

² Ruiz de Montoya, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tupi*, s. v.

³ Not to the perforation of the nose, the *nariz horadada*, as Lafone Quevedo states (ix, p. 4). The *tembeta* is the sign of virility and probably a personal and totemic sign of life. When a warrior is killed in battle his slayer carries off the *tembeta* from his lip and presents it to his own wife (Thouar, i, p. 51). It is made of wood or metal, and varies in diameter.

⁴ D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, Vol. ii, pp. 116, 120, 121.

that tribe. He thought their language differed "quant au fond," but apparently did not examine it closely, and considered them of the same stock. This means simply that some of the Abipons wore the labret.

Another tribe of Lenguas lived and still live on the right bank of the river Paraguay, about latitude 21° . They wear the labret, and have been recently visited by several travelers. Some of these speak a Guaycuru dialect, according to Boggiani and Colini, though Cardus reports authority that some are Guaranis. Possibly two tribes residing in the same region, though of diverse stocks, may wear the tembeta.

Further down stream, in the angle of the R. Paraguay and R. Pilcomayo near Asuncion, is another group of Lenguas. Mr. Lafone Quevedo states that they belong to the Mataco (Enimaga) stock; and this is confirmed by their numerals quoted by Father Cardus, as the following comparison illustrates:

	LENGUAS OF CARDUS.	MATACO.
One,	<i>gezle,</i>	<i>guoslo.</i>
Two,	<i>tigagué,</i>	<i>ho-tequachi.</i>
Three,	<i>diaquegzlna,</i>	<i>lach-tdiquajel.</i>
Four,	<i>dipegai,</i>	<i>tdiqualesshichi.</i>
Five,	<i>chumaja,</i>	<i>ype befagla.</i>

The *Lenguas* whom M. Demersay found in this locality (1860) lived north of the Rio Pilcomayo, near the Quartel del Cerrito, and were fast disappearing.¹

Under the Tupi appellation, Timbues, tribes wearing the labret were reported by Pedro Mendoza on the Paraguay about where the Mataco Lenguas were later found, and doubtless were the same.²

Others were on the lower Parana in early times (located latitude 33° , longitude 62° by Lafone Quevedo, ix, pp. 9-11 and 35). Their language is unknown, and they are long since extinct in that locality.

The same name, Timbois, Tembetas, always for the same reason, was applied to a tribe in the northern Chaco, speaking either Tupi or Chiquito (Lafone Quevedo, ix, p. 11), and to a band of the Chiriguanos (Cardus, i, p. 242).

¹ *Le Tour du Monde*, Tome iv, p. 108.

² Coleti, *Diccionario Storico-geografico dell' America Meridionale*, s. v. (Venice, 1771).

Some of the Chiquitos were certainly called Lenguas. Father Fernandez mentions a tribe so named, speaking Chiquito, who dwelt near Lake Nengetures, thirty leagues from the Rio Piray.¹

A horde of the "Payaguas" (about latitude 27°, longitude 58°) seems also to have received the name Lenguas; as a "Lengua" vocabulary collected by Cerviño has been shown by Lafone Quevedo to be really Payagua, that is, Guaycuru (Tavolini i, App., p. 21). Doubtless they, too, made use of the labret, (see also Lafone Quevedo, xi, p. xxix).

From the above it is evident that neither of the names "Lenguas" or "Timbues" has any ethnic significance and they cause confusion; so I have omitted them from the map.² Believing the so-called Lenguas between the Pilcomayo and the Paraguay to be or to have been Matacos, I extend that stock to the latter river, differing in this from the map of Pelleschi.

THE CHANAS (CHANASES).

This is another general term which has led to ethnographic errors. It is a Tupi word compounded of *anê*, blood relation, with the pronominal prefix, *che*, my, = my relations.

Cardus, on his map, has correctly placed one of the tribes so named about latitude 22°, longitude 65°, south of the Chiriguanos, to whom they are affined, both being of Tupi blood.

D'Orbigny located an early nation of this name "on the island of the Uruguay, opposite the mouth of the Rio Negro."³

Lafone Quevedo has recently devoted an article to the latter horde (ix). He places them on the mainland, latitude 34°, longitude 59°. He also offers some interesting specimens of their language from the MSS. of Father Larrañaga. It appears to be morphologically related to the eastern Chaco tongues, but the information about it is too slight to be decisive. It shows clearly, however, that these "Chanas" were *not* relations of the Tupis.

Other Chanases are located by Thouar on his map of the R. Pilcomayo, on that river about longitude 64°, latitude 22' 30°.

¹ *Relacion historial*, p. 158.

² "Orejones," "Big-Eared," is another descriptive term applied by the Spaniards to any tribe who expanded the lobes of the ears by artificial means. It also has no ethnic significance.

³ *L'Homme Américain*, Tome, ii, p. 84.

These must have been a band of the Chiriguanos who have recently wandered there.

The Ara-chanes (*uara-che-ana*, "men our cousins"), located by early writers on the Paraguay about south latitude 30° – 31° , were obviously a Guaraní horde. Ameghino quotes authorities to show that there were "reductions" of Chanas who were pure Guaranis on the Rio Carcarañal and the Rio Arecife.¹

In spite of the identity in appearance and language of the Chaneses among the Chiriguanos, there is a tradition that they are of a different stock, all their adults having been slain and the children adopted by the Chiriguanos. For this reason the latter call them *tapiii*, slaves, while the Chaneses addresses a Chiriguano as *cheya*, "my master."²

THE CHARUAS AND QUERANDIES.

Acarete du Biscay, writing in 1658, says, "The country on the north side of the river de la Plata is inhabited by none but savages called *Charruas*."³

A wild, nomadic, equestrian nation of this name roamed over the same territory a century later and are described by Father Gaetano Cattaneo as intractable to the best efforts of the missionaries.⁴

Finally, about 1832, they were destroyed, as a tribe, by the whites, though probably individuals of them survived the assaults.

They appear to have extended north as far as 30° and to have occupied most of the area of Uruguay and parts of the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul.

The linguistic affiliation of this extended people has not been discovered.

They are believed by Lafone Quevedo to have belonged to the Guaycuru stock,⁵ but their name, which is Guaraní (*che*, my,

¹ F. Ameghino, *La Antigüedad del Hombre en el Plata*, Tome i, Cap. viii. Other evidence is in the "Repartimiento," of 1582, published by Outes; op. cit. App. 3; but I do not signify this distribution of the Guaranis, as it seems to have been effected by the Spaniards.

² *El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus Misiones*, p. 54 (Queracchi, 1884).

³ *Voyage to Buenos Aires*, p. 28.

⁴ His letters are appended to Muratori's *Il Cristianesimo Felice nel Paraguai* (Venice, 1743).

⁵ In *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, 1894, p. 524.

uara, men), may indicate that they were of that tongue.¹ They wore a peculiar labret. Following D'Orbigny and others, I placed them in *The American Race* as a separate stock; but now doubt that this was correct. No authentic texts of their language is known to me, but the elements of their culture, the place names of their area, and the local appellations of plants and animals are derived from the Tupi Guarani.²

In a monograph recently published, Señor Felix F. Outes has urgently argued that Charuas of the left bank of the La Plata and the Querandies (Carandies) of the right bank (near where the city of Buenos Aires is now situated) both belonged to the Guaycuru stock.³ The latter extended as far north as the Rio Carcaraña (south latitude 32° 30'), where they adjoined the Quiloazas (Quilvazas). They wore the *tembeta*, and at the close of the sixteenth century were allied with the Guaranis, after which period their name disappears. Ameghino places them in the Guarani stock,⁴ while Lafone Quevedo (ix) prefers to attach them to the Guaycurus.

The only linguistic evidence extant lies in the proper names which have been preserved. A notable peculiarity is the frequent termination of the names of chieftains in the syllable *pén*; thus *Cæspén*, *Pacaospén*, *Allapén*, *Quemumpén*, etc. This termination does not occur in the Guaycuru, but is not uncommon in the Aukanian (Araucanian) dialects, which also were spoken by the Pampean tribes. In these the word *pen* means estate or property. It is probably allied to *gen*, a suffix signifying rule, control or ownership.⁵

¹ Lafone Quevedo (ix, p. 12) prefers to derive it from *che*, my, or to me, and *haru*, hurtful, (*cherârua*, "lo que me hace daño," Ruiz), which would be applicable to enemies. He inclines to attach them to the Chaco stocks, although he quotes Hervas, who had a catechism in it, to the effect that their tongue was not related to the "idioms of the Paraguay."

² See Von Ihering, in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Anthropol. Gesell.*, 1889, pp. 655-659.

³ *Los Querandies, Contribucion al Estudio de la Etnografia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1897).

⁴ F. Ameghino, op. cit., Tom. i., Cap. xi.

⁵ Comp. Febres, *Diccionario Araucano*, s.v., and Haverstadt, *Chilidugu*, Section 285. The latter gives the example, *inche-gen ovicha-gen*. "I am owner or master of these sheep." It is both a suffix and prefix. As a suffix, it often conveys the abstract sense of property or quality. Cf. Valdivia, *Arte y Gramatica de la lengua del Reyno de Chile*, pp. 41, 42.

Moreover, when in 1580 the Spaniards routed the Querandies, they fled not to the Guaycurus, but to the Ranqueles, whom they must have regarded as their kinsmen. The Ranqueles, however, are of Aucanian lineage and language.

I believe, therefore, that I was right in *The American Race* (p. 323) in placing the Querandies in the Aucanian stock, an opinion strengthened by the arguments of Burmeister from historic and archæologic grounds.¹

THE PAYAGUAS.

In my *American Race* I have counted this as one of the irreducible stocks of the Chaco, represented by the following tribes :

Agaces, on the Rio Paraguay.

Payaguas, near Santa Fé.

Sarigues, on middle Paraguay.²

Sr. Lafone Quevedo maintains that the Payagua is of the same stock as the Mocovi and Abipon, *i. e.*, the Guaycuru (xi, p. xliii). He bases this on a resemblance which he claims in the pronouns.

Von Martius denies that there was ever any specific tribe so called. The name, he thinks, is from the Tupi, *paracuáhygoata*, "a swimmer of the Paraguay."³ But I believe it is simply the word given by Ruiz y Montoya, *paraguaiguara*, "the people of the Paraguay."⁴

That some so called did belong to the Guaycuru stem will be evident from a study of the following comparisons :

Comparison of the Payagua with the Guaycuru Dialects.

PAYAGUA.	GUAYCURU.
Beard, <i>hyakü, yaka</i> .	Moc., <i>y-acca</i> (my); Toba, <i>yacalaue</i> .
Bread, <i>asyà, yacia</i> .	From Moc., <i>asole</i> , maize.
Brother, <i>yagouà, yaguba</i> .	Toba, <i>yacaya</i> (my).
Child, <i>duanat</i> .	Mbaya, <i>niaani</i> (my).

¹ See his article in the *Verhandlungen* of the Berlin Anthropological Society, Bd. vii, p. 59.

² *The American Race*, p. 316.

³ *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas*, Bd. ii, p. 225.

⁴ *Vocabulario de la Lengua Guarani*, sub voce Paraguâ. On Arrowsmith's map (1810), the Payaguas are located on the left bank of the Rio Paraguay at the entrance of the Rio Pilcomayo; but I have found the locations of tribes on that map of small value.

PAYAGUA.

Ear, *hyaheguada, yaigua*.
 Eye, *yatiqui*.
 Face, *iguechógra*.
 Finger, *hychangä, igutsán, ygchan*.
 Foot, *hyboro, seuó, ho, ybagro*.
 Girl, *lugarára*.
 Hand, *sumajyá, imajá, inagchiac*.
 Head, *yamagra*.
 Home, *yaggo*.
 Moon, *apajsa*.
 Mother, *yoja-usa*.
 Mouth, *hyachàldi, yajalqui*.
 Sun, *iscabala*.
 Thigh, *yejegà, yesiguè*.
 Water, *naaac, ueigh, guayaque*.
 Women, *emjira, elommi*.

GUAYCURU.

Cad., *na-pagate*.
 Abip., *yatoete*.
 Abip., *y-agic*; Moc., *y-schih* (my), *ca-ssigui* (thy).
 Toba, *y-oganta, gohantà*.
 Moc., *y-ppia* (my).
 Cad., *yónarā* (daughter).
 Toba, *emach, emak* (left hand).
 Abipon, *yemag, nemag*.
 Abipon, *yecqui* (my); Cad., *nilagadi*.
 Moc., *appé* (night): Cad., *aipainahi*.
 Moc., *eyodo*.
 Cad., *joladi*.
 Abip., *nalá*.
 Moc., *uasayac, eva-gayacca*.
 Moc., *aló* (female).

But this identification must not be applied to all the Payaguas. On various maps they will be found located along the great river anywhere from S. latitude 18° to 32°; and it is evident that tribes of widely different linguistic affiliations were called by this generic appellation.

For instance, in 1703, Father Neumann met the Payaguas on the river about forty leagues above Asuncion, and these spoke Guarani, as they called out to him:

"*Peë pēmomba ore camarada Buenos Aires viarupi*" ("You were with those who destroyed our friends at Buenos Aires").

At that time they extended north as far as the Rio Tobati, where they adjoined the Sinamecas.¹

THE CACANAS AND CALCHIQUIS.

Near the southwest corner of the map, I have placed within the Quechua territory, the Cacas and Dieguitas. In *The American Race* (p. 320), I have included these under the hypothetical "Cata-mareña" linguistic stock.

We have the positive statement of the early missionary, Alonso de Barcena, that Calchaquis, Diaguitas and Cacas, spoke the same tongue, and that it was quite different from its neighbors; but it

¹ P. Juan P. Fernandez, *Relacion Historial de los Indios Chiquitos*, pp. 154, 158 (Madrid, 1726).

has long been extinct and no specimen of it seems to have been preserved.

At the time I wrote there was not a word positively identified as of this stock; and I must say the same now in spite of Lafone Quevedo's interesting essay (iii).

From various writers he collects the following as probably derived from the Cacana tongue:

- ā*, or -*aa*, or -*ao*, village, a locative termination.
- aquin*, ruler, chief.
- caylle*, a serpent-like tracing on copper, an amulet.
- co*, termination meaning water, or watery.
- cocavi*, pounded maize.
- enja misajo*, "bad head;" perhaps, *enjam*, head.
- is*, good, *aco*, not (Mataco, *isajia*, "not good").
- gasta*, village, a locative termination.
- tu*, fire, light.
- vil*, locative termination.
- y*, his, their, pronominal suffix.

Of these words, the frequent termination *gasta* I believe, in spite of the opinion of von Tschudi,¹ is the Quechua *llacta*, in a Spanish corruption; and -*ā*, or *ao*, resembles much the Quechuan locative termination *auí*. The word *cocavi*, cooked or prepared maize, reminds one of the Quechua *chucuca*, which means the same. The idol or tracing of a serpent, *caylle*, may well have been that of the old or big serpent, *machu kay*, of the Quechuas.²

Again, the title with which the Indians of Calchaqui saluted the impostor, Inca Pedro Chamijo, was, according to Lozano, *titaquin*, from which *aquin* in the above list is taken. But this is pure Quechua, as Holguin gives *chapaquén* as "Señor de Indios."³

There is not sufficient evidence that this list offers any Cacana

¹ Von Tschudi, in *Verhand. der Berliner Anthropol. Gesellschaft*, 1885, p. 184. A proof that it is from Quechua is that the same corruption is found in Chile, for instance, Antofagasta. I have discussed this question at some length in my *Studies in South American Native Languages*, pp. 54, 55 (Philadelphia, 1892).

² See Holguin, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Qquichua*, s. v. "Culebra" and "Serpiente." Ambrosetti also is inclined to regard this symbol as of Peruvian origin, representing the lightning snake and connected with the rains. See his article, "El Simbolo de la Serpiente en la Alfareria funeraria de la region Calchaqui," *Bol. Inst. Geog. Argentino*, 1896, pp. 219 sq.

³ Elsewhere (xii, Sec. 12) Lafone Quevedo says, "Yo siempre he atribuido el mismo origen etnico-linguistico a los Cacanés, Lules de Barcena y Guaycuru-Abipones."

words, and the problem of the tongue is still unsolved, unless we agree, as I now incline, with the conclusion of Waitz,¹ that it was merely a corrupt dialect of the widely extended Quechua stock.

The evidence collected a third of a century ago by Vicente G. Quesada points strongly in this direction.² The Quechua was then still spoken in the valleys of Catamarca and around Santiago del Estero, Salta and Jujuy. Seven leagues from the city of Salta was still pointed out the "great walls of the Inca," the remains of the *Inca huasi*, "the house of the Inca," about which in 1658 Acarete du Biscay recorded the legend: "In the valley of Calchaqui was the house of the last Incas of Peru, which was called the White House; and there was a great deal of treasure there which the natives kept as a mark of their antient grandeur."³

While it is possible that at the Conquest some relics of an earlier tongue remained, that generally spoken was Quechua. This was said in so many words of the neighborhood of Cordova, in 1583, by the Licentiate Cepeda, "La gente de esta tierra hablan una lengua que llaman *Comechingona*, y otra *Zanavirona*, aunque los mas que sirven y entran y van hablando en la lengua general de Piru."⁴

OTHER UNIDENTIFIED TRIBES.

There remain a number of tribes mentioned as populous and important by the early writers, of some of whose idioms grammars and dictionaries were constructed, whom we cannot with certainty assign to the stocks I have mentioned.

Thus, Father del Techo in his list of the Chaco tribes as known in 1628, names the *Taimviæ*, who once occupied one hundred and eighty-eight villages; the *Tentæ*, and the *Agoiæ*.⁵ We have no knowledge that the grammars of various of these tribes prepared by Father Gaspar Osorius (mentioned by Techo) have been preserved.⁶

¹ *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Bd. iv, p. 380.

² See his article, "Apuntes sobre el Origen de la lengua quichua en Santiago del Estero," printed in his volume, *Estudios Historicos*, Buenos Aires, 1863.

³ Acarete du Biscay, *Voyage to Buenos Aires*, p. 54 (London, 1716).

⁴ *Relaciones Geograficas de Indias*, Peru, Tom. ii, App., p. x (Madrid, 1885).

⁵ *Historia Provinciæ Paraquariæ*, Lib. viii, Cap. 5.

⁶ René-Moreno mentions in his *Biblioteca Boliviana*, p. 599, that at the beginning of this century there existed in the library of the Pueblo de San Ignacio, Province of Chiquito, an *Arte de la lengua Guaycuru*, one volume quarto, MS. Possibly this is one of the works referred to in the text.